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THE KING OF ALL THE NOBLES, DEGRADED AS ABU NERUS.
THE MOCK KING AT THE NEW YEAR.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE KING OF ALL THE NOBLES.

ON the 10th September, the first day of the Coptic solar year, the river has reached to about its highest point, and on this day—the *nerûs*—the people give themselves up to the pleasures of the carnival. For three days it is all up with the rule of the Turks; every little town chooses for itself in its own way, and from its own midst, a ruler (*abu nerûs*), who has a towering fool's cap set upon his head and a long spectral beard of flax fastened to his chin, and is clothed in a peculiar garment. With a long sceptre in his hand, and followed by a crowd of correspondingly dressed bailiffs, hangmen and scribes, he promenades the street, and turns his steps straight to the hall of the chief magistrate. Everyone bends before him, the guards at the door make way, the governor of the province or the town has the humour to let himself be ousted, while the new dignitary seats himself on his throne and holds a most rigorous criminal investigation, from which even the displaced functionary and his abettors do not escape. The hangman's assistant of yesterday is sentenced to be hanged, the bastinadoer to be beaten, the *bash katib*, or chief secretary, to imprisonment, immense taxes are imposed, and all decisions are set down on a sheet of paper. There is no pardon for the condemned unless on the payment of a few piastres as bakhshish. Thus they move from house to house, the taxes being levied in the form of bakhshish. Three days does the capricious rule of the ephemeral tyrant last; at length he—that is, his dress—is condemned to death by burning, and from the ashes creeps out the slavish Fellah. In the time of good-natured Mohammed Ali the *abu nerûs* is said to have ventured even to approach his throne; but the harmless jest has now fallen a good deal out of practice.

C. B. KLUNZINGER, M.D.

[Such is the only account which has been preserved of this curious survival, given in Dr. Klunzinger's book, *Upper Egypt: Its People and its Products*, in 1878. It is illustrated in our frontispiece by the only published figure of the mock king, fortunately preserved by Rifaud, showing that his festival was at date harvest, the ancient New Year. This is now much further explained and carried back by the title recorded in p. 115 of a "New Year King of all the Nobles," a position held by the highest nobles in the XIIth dynasty. Such could not arise during the dynastic rule; it points to a survival of a much earlier age. That it was a new year king implies an annual election, like that of the consuls at Rome. It was apparently a relic of an older kingship of prehistoric time, a permitted semblance of the ancient rule allowed to the body of nobles of the old race. It was thus parallel to the king of the Saturnalia in Italy, a permitted festival of the enslaved aborigines, when the old stock were allowed a memory of their ancient liberty in the dying year.—F. P.]

A TABLET WOVEN BAND, FROM QAU EL KEBIR.

AMONG the wrappings of Coptic bodies of about the VIth century A.D. found at Qau el Kebir by the British School, there were portions of narrow woven bands in coloured wool, now at South Kensington Museum. The band is about 1 cm. broad, the warp is of two-ply corded wool in four colours—red, green, yellow and blue; the weft is of coarser brownish thread. The pattern in the centre is one often found as a border decoration on Oriental bands, *e.g.*, a band from Persia figured by M. Lehmann Filhes, and it is also shown on the centre of others from Tiflis and Damascus.¹ The design is by her described as “Pfeilspitzen” arrow-points, a good enough description, though it is more tempting to fancy it an attempt at a lotus pattern . An examination of the texture shows that the warp threads are twisted together, and the weft thread lies in the middle of the little bundle of cords; its identity with tablet weave is, therefore, obvious. For a further proof I have woven samples of the pattern in tablet weave and double weave, and with the same number of threads in each. A glance at the photos of back and front of both, show most convincingly the likeness between the band from Qau and the modern tablet woven sample (Fig. 1).

For this reproduction twelve tablets were used, six threaded right and six threaded left. Of these the three outer ones on either side give the border, the six inner the pattern. From left to right the three border tablets were threaded, one with four blue threads, one with four red and one with four yellow, and the three on the other side the same in reverse order (Fig. 3).

For the centre pattern, taking the numbering of holes on the tablets as given by Pralle :—²

First tablet : First hole red, second green, third green, fourth green.

Second tablet : First hole red, second red, third green, fourth green.

Third tablet : First hole red, second red, third red, fourth green.

The three centre tablets on the other side were threaded in the same way in reverse order.

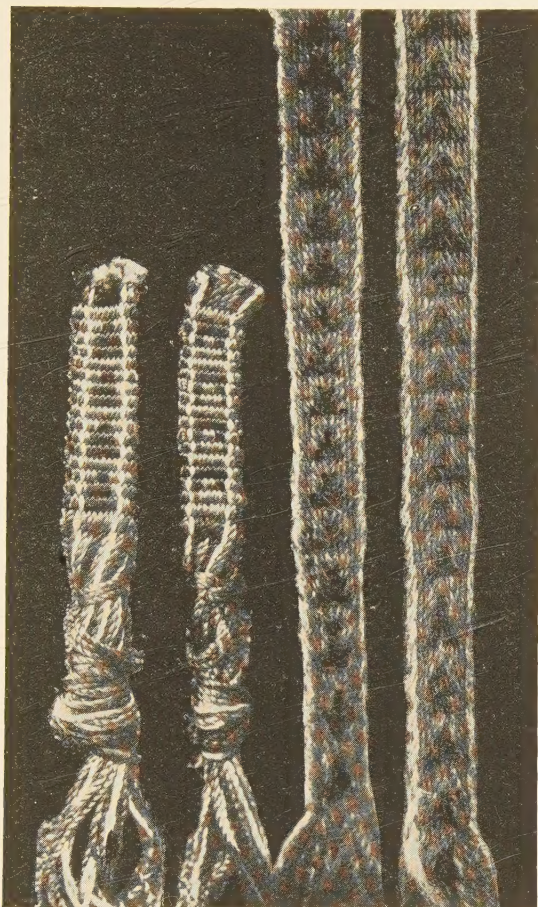
Is it, then, certain that the band from Qau, being in tablet weave texture, must have been woven on tablets, or is there any other procedure by means of which the same result can be obtained ?

Now tablet weaving is not primitive in character ; it is a highly evolved little craft, and must have been preceded by bands twisted by other simpler methods ; samples of some of these are given by M. Lehmann Filhes. One, not cited by her, with which I have experimented, is the Algerian method of producing the chevron pattern braids known as “rbib” (Fig. 2) and “boršman,”³ very like tablet woven bands in appearance, but readily distinguishable, as they are always sewn on to the garments with the weft threads themselves. The twisting of the warp threads is produced by an assistant, who holds the looped ends of one end of the warp while the weaver puts the weft thread through at the other.

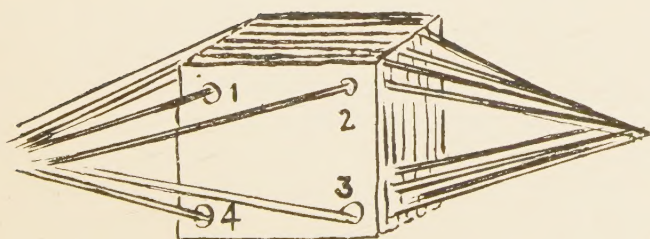
¹ *Brettchen Weberei*, pp. 25, 26.

² *Tablet Weaving*, tr. by Peach.

³ *Le travail de la laine à Tlemcen*, Bel et Ricard, Alger., 1913, p. 193.



I. IMITATION OF COPTIC BANDS BY TABLET WEAVING.



2. SIMPLEST FORM OF RBIB, WITH FOUR THREADS.
3. NUMBERING OF TABLETS.

Only a limited number of threads are manipulated in this way, the most, I believe, in the "boršman sdasi," obtained by six pairs of threads, held on the fore, middle and third finger of each of the assistant's hands. While experimenting I found my assistant's patience soon exhausted, and placed my loops instead on some pegs and continued to weave a sample, not sewn on to a garment, which I believe to be quite indistinguishable from tablet weave. The pleasure at getting rid of the assistant soon evaporated in the fatigue of moving from one end of the warp to the other to effect the alternate twisting and weaving. One could see how the need might have led to the insertion of a contrivance to twist the threads in the middle, where the tablets now are. But these are but imaginings. I learnt only one thing for certain from my experiment, and that was, that in bands produced by hand twisting one characteristic of tablet weave disappears, *i.e.*, the reverse, which becomes necessary whenever the twists close up on the tablets. The twisting being at the free looped ends of the warp, a reverse is never necessary, although, of course, it would be perfectly possible to put it in as part of a pattern if desired.

Now the longest portion of the Qau band has no reverse. When making the tablet woven reproduction I found that a reverse became imperative three times in 18 inches. To avoid it I untied the warp ends three times and untwisted them. But I was working with a very short warp—only 4 feet; with a longer one the reverse will not come so often. M. Bel draws attention to this fact in his account of one of the Tlemcen tablet weavers¹ who, because he wove his braids in wool, a material which will give, and with a very long warp, did not often have to use a reverse. Instead, he pushed his twists back behind the little reed or comb which hung at the back of the tablets and made them into a sort of tassel when he had finished the piece. The presence of a reverse, then, especially if it is no part of a pattern, can be regarded as good proof that tablets have been used, but its absence is not conclusive to the contrary; the Qau weaver may have untwisted his warp ends or, more probably, used a very long warp.

What will help much more to a decision—it can never, from the nature of the case, be absolutely certain—is a consideration of what evidence there is of the use of tablets in the Coptic period. There is a fine set of 25 wooden four-holed tablets in the Musée du Cinquenaire at Brussels, purchased at the Guimet sale, together with the mummy of Euphemiaan (*La Brodeuse*) and said to have been found in her tomb. Whether this is so or not, M. Capart is of opinion that they certainly came from the Gayet excavations at Antinoe, and are of the Coptic period. According to the "Catalogue d'étoffes anciennes," published by the Museum (written by I. Errera), the textiles said to have been found in this tomb, some of which are still in position on the mummy, are considered to be probably of the period IVth–VIth century A.D. Curiously enough, there are no narrow bands among these textiles—nothing which could by any possibility have been tablet woven. The only Coptic bands in tablet weave that I know of are two described and figured by Lehmann Filhes, said to have been found at Akhmim.

In view of the fact that the Qau band has 48 threads in it, a number difficult to manipulate by hand twisting, and the evidence of tablets and other bands in similar weave from the Coptic period, the balance of probability seems to me in favour of its having been tablet woven.

G. M. CROWFOOT.

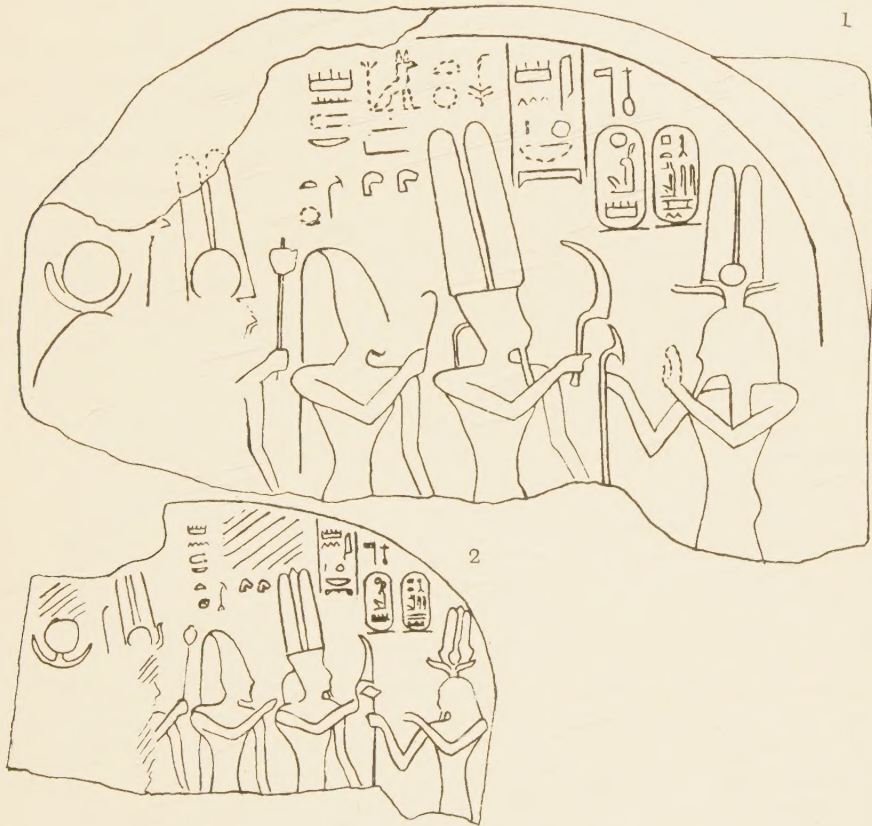
¹ *Le travail de la laine à Tlemcen*, p. 232.

STÈLE DU PHARAON SÉTI I^{ER} TROUVÉE À TELL-NEBI-MENDOU EN SYRIE.

LA mission archéologique française en Syrie a découvert en 1921, à Tell-Nebi-Mendou, la partie supérieure d'une stèle en basalte gris-noir, érigée par le pharaon Sétî I^{er} sans doute pendant une de ses campagnes contre les Khétas.

Cette stèle fut publiée en 1922 dans le journal *Syria* (III volume) par M. Pézard, chef de la Mission, avec la collaboration de Messrs. Bénédite, Boreux et Montet.

Dans son article, une tentative est faite pour rétablir la scène entière de la stèle et pour lire les inscriptions qui s'y trouvent.



Après une minutieuse étude de la photographie de cette stèle, accompagnant l'article de M. Pézard, j'ai eu la surprise de constater que la reconstitution, que donne M. Pézard, de la scène en partie effacée de la stèle, ainsi que l'interprétation des inscriptions de la stèle, suggérée dans l'article cité, demandent sur beaucoup de points à être rectifiées.

J'ai trouvé donc nécessaire, dans l'intérêt de la science, de donner une explication des images et des inscriptions de la stèle plus exacte au point de vue de l'archéologie égyptienne.

Les figures représentées sur la stèle ne sont conservées que jusqu'aux genoux (Fig. 1), transcrit de la photographie ; Fig. 2, la même stèle selon M. Pézard.¹

¹ Dans la seconde cartouche, il faut lire le dernier signe hiéroglyphique  *n* et non pas  *du* comme le propose M. Pézard.

Du côté droit de la stèle le pharaon Sêti I^{er} est debout devant quatre divinités. Sa coiffure consiste de deux longues plumes, placées verticalement sur un petit disque, qui, à son tour, est posé sur deux cornes de bélier.

La main gauche, avec les doigts en l'air et la paume tournée vers le dieu, fait un geste d'adoration, la main droite est allongée horizontalement, la paume tournée en haut. Elle se rapproche de la main droite de la première divinité en croisant le sceptre *ouas* que celle-ci tient à la main.

Au-dessus de la figure du pharaon se trouve gravée la légende.

“ Dieu bon, constant par la vérité de Râ, Sêti, aimé de Ptah.”

La première divinité qui se tient debout en face du pharaon est le dieu Amon-Râ. Il est coiffé d'une couronne, ornée de deux longues plumes verticales et derrière les épaules, en dessous de la couronne, descend un ruban étroit.

Le bras gauche du dieu est baissé en avant et tient le sceptre *ouas*. Le bras droit, soulevé à partir du coude, est armé du *khopesh* dont la pointe est dirigée vers le dieu. D'après M. Pézard, le sceptre *ouas* n'est pas tenu par le dieu Amon-Râ mais se trouve dans la main droite du pharaon Sêti I^{er} et ceci oblige M. Pézard à donner au sommet du sceptre une forme tout-à-fait étrange. La confusion provient de ce que la main droite du pharaon se trouve en travers du sceptre *ouas*.

Mais des cas analogues se rencontrent bien souvent sur les monuments égyptiens. Nous pouvons les voir par exemple : sur un relief du temple funéraire¹ de Sêti I^{er} à Kourna (Fig. 3) ; sur la scène d'adoration de Anhour (L.D. III, 223) on peut même voir le pharaon Ramsès IV, qui fait à Anhour l'offrande d'une figurine de Maât, recouvrant complètement de sa main la tige du sceptre *ouas* tenu par Anhour (Fig. 4), sur un relief de l'époque de Ramsès I^{er} (Fig. 6), etc.

Au-dessus de la figure du dieu Amon-Râ on lit sur la stèle de Tell-Nebi-Mendou la légende, “ Amon-Râ, maître du ciel.”

La seconde divinité est aussi debout : c'est, à ne pas s'y méprendre, le dieu Set, tel que nous le voyons représenté sur la fameuse stèle de l'an 400, autrefois publiée par Mariette² (Fig. 5). Comme sur cette dernière, la coiffure du dieu consiste ici d'une haute tiare avec un étroit ruban, qui y est attaché un peu au-dessous de la pointe, et qui retombe derrière le dos du dieu. Ce ruban n'est pas conservé tout entier, mais ainsi qu'on le voit sur la stèle de l'an 400, il devait descendre jusqu'aux mollets et se partager en deux à sa pointe inférieure. La forme étrange que M. Pézard avait cru reconnaître dans la tiare du dieu, provient, très probablement, de la fissure horizontale qui, dans l'original, traverse la coiffure de Set (*Soutekh*) et d'un côté touche au dieu Amon-Râ et de l'autre à la divinité posée derrière Set (*Soutekh*).

Une tiare semblable à celle portée par le dieu Set (*Soutekh*) sur la stèle de Tell-Nebi-Mendou paraît aussi sur la tête d'une divinité syro-égyptienne, décrite par Mr. Griffith comme figurine du dieu Set.³

Le bras droit du dieu, soulevé depuis le coude, porte un objet de forme étrange, qu'il n'est pas facile de déterminer : c'est peut-être une espèce de lituus ou bien un petit bouclier d'une forme étrange. Le bras gauche baissé en avant est cassé en bas et la main manque. Le visage du dieu n'est pas bien distinct, mais on peut seulement remarquer que la ligne du menton descend un peu plus

¹ Mariette, *Abydos*, Tome 2, pl. 54.

² Mariette, “ La stèle de l'an 400,” *Revue Archéologique*, 1865, p. 170.

³ F. Griffith, “ The God Set of Ramessu II and an Egypto-Syrian Deity,” *Proceedings of Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, 1894, Vol. XII, p. 87.



qu'habituellement dans les figures égyptiennes. Elle se termine au bout par un trait oblique représentant la pointe d'une barbiche. Au-dessus du dieu à tiare, il y a une inscription qui se laisse distinctement reconnaître sur la photographie de la stèle. Elle se lit , et ne contient dans aucun cas le nom du dieu *Rechef* que M. Boreux voulait y reconnaître. Comme toutefois au-dessus des plumes du dieu Amon-Râ, il y a un espace correspondant aux colonnes qui contiennent les noms des autres divinités, et où sont conservés des traits indistincts, mais on peut les prendre en tout cas pour des restes de signes hiéroglyphiques ; il serait peut-être juste de supposer que c'était le nom  *Soutekh* qui se trouvait à cette place. Dans ce cas le signe  ne serait pas à lui tout seul le nom de la divinité représentée en dessous, mais devrait être considéré comme déterminatif du dieu *Soutekh*.

Il faudrait donc lire toute la légende, " Soutekh (Set), grand par force."

La troisième divinité debout est le dieu égyptien *Mentou*. Il est représenté avec une tête d'épervier dont on peut bien reconnaître le profil sur la photographie de la stèle. Sa tête est coiffée de deux longues plumes verticales, entre lesquelles se trouve placé un disque (cf. la représentation du dieu Mentou sur la Fig. 3). A l'avant de la coiffure il y a une trace d'uraeus, qu'il est impossible de prendre pour l'espèce de corne, représentée dans le dessin de M. Pézard.

Le bras droit du dieu, soulevé depuis le coude, tient la hache de guerre associée avec ce dieu (voir sur la Fig. 7).

Le bras gauche de Mentou est baissé de la même façon que celui du dieu Set, qui le précède et, tout comme la main gauche du dieu Set, la main de Mentou n'est pas conservée.

Il est assez vraisemblable que les deux divinités aient tenu de la main gauche baissée le signe *ankh* comme le tient par exemple le dieu Anhour (Fig. 4) et les dieux Mentou (Fig. 6) et Amen (Fig. 12). Au-dessus de la figure du dieu se trouve la légende, " Mentou, maître de Ouast " (Thèbes).

La quatrième et dernière divinité est très probablement une déesse debout. Son image est très mal conservée. On voit bien l'ornement surmontant sa tête, qui consiste d'un disque flanqué de deux cornes (disque de la lune) et, ce qui est très important, l'arrière de sa coiffure. D'après celle-ci il est absolument impossible de supposer que cette divinité soit le dieu Khonsou, comme le propose M. Pézard, car si le disque rappelle celui du dieu Khonsou, la tête de ce dieu apparaît toujours nue et son cou orné du symbole *menat*, qui a une forme très caractéristique. Ici, par contre, la divinité a la tête couverte d'une étoffe, comme l'ont ordinairement les déesses ainsi quelquefois des divinités mâles à têtes d'animaux, par exemple Apis, Thouth, Mentou (cf. Figs. 6, 7, 8, 11, 14).

Ici toutefois la présence d'un sceptre lotiforme devant la divinité indique clairement une déesse.

La supposition la plus vraisemblable serait de reconnaître ici la déesse Hathor dont l'attribut ordinaire est le disque lunaire. En effet, nous savons bien que la déesse Hathor était vénérée en Syrie. Son image apparut sur plusieurs monuments trouvés à Byblos et sur une des stèles qui la représentent recevant l'hommage d'un pharaon, où elle est nommée " la Maîtresse de Byblos " ¹ (Fig. 8). Sur

¹ Erman, " Die Herrin von Byblos," *Zeitschrift f. Äg. S.*, t. 42, p. 109 ; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 179 ; Maspero, *Recueil de travaux*, Vol. 11, p. 120 ; M. Montet, " Lettre à M. Clermont-Ganneau," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Insc. et Belles Arts*, Bul., mars-juin, 1921, p. 165.

deux des stèles elle tient dans une main le sceptre lotiforme des déesses qui se retrouve sur notre stèle (Figs. 9, 10).

Une autre supposition serait de voir dans notre déesse la déesse Nephthys, compagne de Set qui quelquefois, bien que rarement, porte au lieu de son symbole ordinaire (𓆎) un disque lunaire¹ (Fig. 11).



La présence de Set-Soutekh sur notre stèle pourrait donner quelque consistance à cette supposition, car sur plus d'une stèle nous voyons la déesse Nephthys accompagnant ce dieu.²

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. III, pl. 124B.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. III, pl. 34A, 34C, 124B, 200C.

Le sommet du sceptre lotiforme se trouve placé très haut, sur notre stèle ; on peut citer comme comparaison celui de la déesse Nephthys sur la stèle No. 27,572 du Musée du Caire, à côté de laquelle se dresse très haut un sceptre lotiforme avec un petit Harpocrate au sommet.¹

Ayant examiné, à tour de rôle, tous les détails de la stèle, qui n'ont pas été bien compris par son premier éditeur, il nous reste à examiner le sens exact qu'on peut attribuer à la scène représentée sur la stèle de Tell Nebi Mendou.

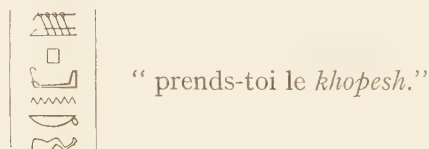
Pour commencer, examinons la corrélation des deux figures, celle du dieu Amon-Râ et du pharaon Sêti I^{er}.

La position des mains du pharaon doit au premier lieu attirer notre attention : il tient la main gauche en faisant un geste d'adoration, tandis que la main droite est tendue horizontalement comme si elle attendait à recevoir quelque chose de la part du dieu Amon-Râ. La même disposition des mains se remarque dans la figure de Ramsès II sur la stèle No. 34,504 du Musée du Caire (cf. Fig. 12), où ce roi s'apprête à recevoir le sceptre *ḥaq* et le fouet *Nekhekh* que le dieu Hor-akhouti incline vers la main tendue du pharaon.

Sur notre stèle c'est du *khopesh* qu'il s'agit et c'est vers cette arme tenue par le dieu Amon-Râ que la pharaon tend la main.

Ce moment important de la remise par le dieu de l'arme victorieuse, par laquelle le pharaon devait exterminer ses ennemis, se trouve représenté dans toutes les phases consécutives sur les stèles égyptiennes ayant trait aux victoires du roi.²

Ordinairement sur ces stèles l'image du dieu est accompagnée de la légende suivante :—



C'est à la remise du *khopesh* que se rapporte le passage de la grande inscription de Merenptah à Karnak (lignes 28–29) où le dieu Ptah apparaît au roi effrayé par l'approche de Libyens. “ Alors,” dit le texte, “ Sa Majesté vit en rêve comme si une statue de Ptah se dressait devant le pharaon v.s.f. Le dieu était de hauteur pareille à . . . Il lui parla : ‘ Prends (le) ’ en lui tendant le *khopesh*, ‘ et repousse de toi le cœur timide.’ Le pharaon v.s.f. lui dit ‘ Voilà . . . ’ ”

Le moment final de la prise du *khopesh* se trouve représenté sur la stèle No. 34,510 du musée du Caire : là le pharaon Ramsès II a déjà saisi cette arme par le bas du manche, pendant que le dieu Hor-Akhouti la tient encore dans la main.

La même scène se rencontre sur d'autres monuments : par exemple, sur la stèle d'Israël³ sur un relief du temple de Sêti I^{er} à Kourna (Fig. 3), mais ici la

¹ W. Golenischeff, “ Eine neue Darstellung des Gottes Antaeus,” *Zeitschrift für Äg. S.* Band 32, seite 2.

La photographie jointe à l'article laisse assez nettement reconnaître au-dessus du disque surmontant la tête de la déesse le signe hiéroglyphique  légèrement écrasée. L'explication de M. Daressy, qui veut voir  dans ce signe, ne semble pas soutenable.

² Voir, pour l'époque de la XIX^e dynastie, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. III, pl. 129, 139, 140, 144, 186, 207, 209c, 209d, 210, 211, 218c.

³ Voir Stèle d'Israël chez Lacau, *Catalogue général du musée du Caire*, et Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. III, pl. 20c.

main de la divinité est au bout du manche tandis que le pharaon saisit le *khopesh* en posant sa main au-dessus de celle du dieu.

La direction dans laquelle est tournée le *khopesh* n'est pas partout la même : le plus souvent la pointe s'incline vers le roi auquel la divinité remet l'arme, mais quelquefois, comme sur notre stèle, cette pointe est tournée vers la divinité¹ (Fig. 13).

Les trois dieux qui viennent après Amon-Râ, sur notre stèle, semblent tous suivre l'exemple que leur donne leur aîné : ils ont tous l'air de vouloir remettre leurs attributs au pharaon Sêti I^{er}. C'est l'objet rappelant, soit un lituus, soit un bouclier, que le dieu Soutekh tend en avant, et c'est son arme (une massue de guerre) que le dieu Mentou tient à la main de la même façon que Amon-Râ tient le *khopesh*.

Enfin la hauteur à laquelle arrive le sceptre lotiforme de la déesse ne peut s'expliquer qu'en admettant qu'il est soulevé pour être ainsi remis au pharaon. Sans doute, la déesse le tient en ayant le bras soulevé depuis le coude, car si, en pensée, on voulait s'imaginer que le dieu Amon-Râ remettait au pharaon son sceptre *ouas* et non pas sa *khopesh*, et que pour faire celà, il devrait relever sa main gauche au niveau auquel se trouve sa droite, armée du *khopesh*, le sommet du sceptre *ouas* devrait arriver à la même hauteur que le sceptre lotiforme de la déesse.

Les représentations sur la stèle de Tell-Nebi-Mendou se rapportent sans doute à un moment où, après les campagnes victorieuses des premières années du règne de Sêti I^{er}, la paix était revenue en Syrie et en Palestine.

A côté des dieux purement égyptiens, le pharaon Sêti I^{er} (stèle de Tell-Nébi-Mendou), ne refuse pas de reconnaître le culte des dieux du pays et, sous le nom de Soutekh, il introduit sur cette stèle un des Baalim syriens, qui plus tard sont tous nommés des Soutekhs dans le traité de Ramsès II avec Khattousili, le roi des Khétas.²

A la même époque se rapportent très probablement les deux stèles de Sêti I^{er} trouvées, l'une à Tell-esh-Shihâb et l'autre à Beth-Shéan.³ Malheureusement ces stèles ne sont pas conservées en entier.

La stèle de Tell-esh-Shihâb (Fig. 14) ne représente que la partie supérieure de la pierre, avec la représentation du pharaon Sêti I^{er} coiffé d'un casque de guerre, faisant devant un autel une offrande à Amon-Râ et à Mout. Le bas des figures, à partir des genoux, a été emporté par une cassure, et nous ne pouvons que supposer qu'au bas de la stèle il se soit trouvé une inscription. Par contre, la stèle de Beth-Shéan offre un texte hiéroglyphique de vingt lignes, contenant, outre deux cartouches de Sêti I^{er} (sur la seconde et la dernière ligne du texte) la mention des peuples Rotennou, Aperou et d'autres.⁴

Cette inscription est surmontée des restes d'une scène dans laquelle très probablement le pharaon Sêti I^{er} était représenté en prière devant une ou deux divinités. Actuellement, on ne voit que deux paires de jambes, ayant la base

¹ Voir sur un relief à Abou Simbel de l'époque de Ramsès II, sur un relief à Karnak dans le temple de Ramsès III, au temple de Redesieh (Sêti I^{er}), Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. III, pl. 195c, 207D, 139A, 144.

² S. Langdon and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. VĪ, p. 194.

³ Clarence S. Fisher, *The Museum Journal*, 1922, March, p. 44.

⁴ *The Journal of Eg. Archaeology*, April, 1922, p. 109; *Biblica*, Vol. 3, Fasc. 2, 1922, p. 271.

d'un autel entre eux. A gauche de la stèle, manquent le commencement des lignes (excepté la dernière) et une partie de la scène d'adoration. On y aurait pu placer un troisième personnage, et celui-ci était peut-être une déesse comme celle qu'on voit sur la stèle de Tell-esh-Shihâb.¹

La présence combinée sur la stèle de Beth-Shéan d'une scène d'adoration dans le haut et d'un texte long hiéroglyphique dans le bas, nous donne le droit de supposer que les stèles de Tell-Nébi-Mendou, et de Tell-esh-Shihâb avaient chacune, dans sa partie inférieure, une inscription hiéroglyphique plus ou moins longue.

GRÉGOIRE LOUKIANOFF.

¹ G. A. Smith, "Notes of a journey through Hauran," *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1901, p. 347; H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, 1909, Band II, S. 247.

THE PALACE TITLES.

Sources.	15-25	king's titles.
1 <i>heqā</i> , chief.	26-51	queen's.
2 <i>her-tep-oā</i> , ruler.	52-59	prince's.
3 <i>uo</i> , peer.	60-82	palace.
4 <i>hati-o</i> , leader.	83-114	palace staff.
5 <i>oā</i> , warden.	115-121	<i>per onkh</i> .
6 <i>ur</i> , mayor.	122-148	occupants of palace
7 <i>sar</i> , Lord.	149-172	royal toilet.
8 <i>kherp</i> , controller.	173-197	insignia.
9 <i>sekhem</i> .	198-214	followers.
10 <i>rā</i> , commander, <i>mer</i> , intendant.	215-253	guards.
11 <i>ari</i> , keeper.	254-265	attendants.
12 <i>sehez</i> , expert.	262-289	physicians.
13 <i>okhenuti</i> , diwan.	290-313	companions.
14 <i>ot</i> , officer.	314-331	praisers.

THE various official titles of the Egyptians provide the widest means of understanding the organisation of their society, and help to explain the structure of one of the most permanent and successful modes of life. These titles have not yet received the attention due, and the present article is a first sketch of the system of the palace officials, which will be followed by lists of the other sections of official life. Such will form a nucleus which will, I hope, be extended by additions and corrections, and any titles sent to me will be incorporated in a more permanent edition in future. The aim of this collection is to include all variants which will throw light on changes or on shades of meaning, also examples which show the earliest stage of an office, and sometimes the latest, where it had a long continuance. The sources are very widespread, and to include every possible document would have delayed this work, probably for many years; it seemed best, therefore, to begin with the larger and more obvious sources, to arrange the material of these, and then to add gradually to the collection as opportunity occurs. The last such collection was that of Brugsch's *Aegyptologie*, which is still valuable after a third of a century, though at that time the common sign of a cylinder seal and necklace was called a bag; even to this day it is referred to as "schatz," the Treasury, instead of the Exchequer. The seal was essentially for vouching for receipts and payments in all grades of officials. To understand the titles we must always have before us the structure of government, and think of Uganda and of modern Egypt, and realise different functions by the more familiar examples of our own official world. The study of the origins and real nature of hieroglyphic signs has been mainly developed since Brugsch wrote, and the first appeal must always be to the actual nature of sign, from which a secondary meaning has often been evolved.

The sources here used are partly compiled works, partly monographs. The collected material lay in Brugsch's *Aegyptologie*, Murray's *Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, Sethe's *Urkunden*, Lange and Schäfer's *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, Weil's *Die Veziere*, Lieblein's *Dictionnaire de Noms*, Legrain's *Répertoire Généalogique*, Gardiner and Weigall's *Topographical Catalogue of Private Tombs at Thebes*, with Engelbach's continuation, Lanzzone's catalogue of

Turin, and the *Annales du Service*, especially for the later period : an old MS. list in the notebooks of Dr. Birch contained some titles not met with elsewhere. The original sources have been looked up in cases of difficulty, and also for monographs such as *Royal Tombs*, *Beni Hasan*, *Bersheh*, *Meir*, *Sinai*, the *Season in Egypt*, *Medum*, and various lesser sources.

The first question that must be settled is whether the many titles of one man are biographical, or were held all at once while his great tomb was being prepared. There are many explicit biographies ; but, on the contrary, among the dozens of titles held by the veziers there are, in the good periods, none of a low grade. Not till the weakest poverty of the Bubastite age was there a vezier who was content to be called a scribe, or servant of the *ka*, or prophet. Otherwise there is nothing incompatible with high rank in the great range of the veziers' titles, though in their pluralities they vastly exceed the Marquis of Steyne.

The sources which explain titles are diverse. There are the official lists of the Hood, Tunis and Leiden papyri, which help us like the *Notitia Dignitatum*, though never equalling a *Whitaker's Almanac* ; the biographies give some ascending scales of dignity ; the records of expeditions to Hammamat and Sinai supply much in the lower grades ; the named figures in tombs, such as at Beni Hasan, are invaluable proofs of meanings ; the grouping with other titles, as by veziers, show the importance ; the Ptolemaic organisation helps by parallel systems in Greek ; there are also the indications of a title belonging to central or to local government, or being held by a man or a woman, which help our discrimination.

There are various classes of titles also to be observed. Some went by inheritance, though needing confirmation by the king, such as *heqā*, chief, *hāt*, leader, or *re-pot*, orderer of people. Others were by individual grant, as *nesut rekḥ*, knowing the king, or courtier, and *nesut tep kher*, head next to the king, or viceroy. Some may have been probably purely honorary, especially when a title wore down to insignificance, like Mr. or Esq. The greater part of titles were, however, connected with distinct duties, though such were probably performed by order and not personally. The latter part of the Old Kingdom was a great age of pluralities, and also of the degradation of titles. At the petty court of one chieftain, ruling over about 30 miles of country, there were 17 officials with the title which had been that of a viceroy, " head under the king," 38 more called " royal nobles," 7 called chieftains, *heqā*, and the *seh*, hall of audience, had come to be the name of the kitchen. Hence we must allow latitude in understanding titles, much as in future ages it must not be supposed that every esquire went out with his shield daily to attend on his knight, nor that every knight was a cavalryman, nor that every K.C. gave his advice to the king.

Before looking at the various departments we should settle on some equivalents for the grades named in all departments. This has usually been left to the chance mood of a translator, with much variation and incongruity. It is only by looking at all the usages of a word that the limits of it can be expressed by an equivalent, so far as modern terms allow. We must have regard to the applicability of it in all the cases, whether it implied administrative or only executive functions, and the status of the holder. Until we can nail down each term to a fixed equivalent, the sense of the organisation will be out of reach of any but a translator, who usually disregards the social and scientific meaning of his material. The numbers in the following pages refer to the hieroglyphic titles on the plate pages ; thus the *corpus* of titles is kept together, apart from the more or less tentative explanations of them.

The *heqā* (1), commonly rendered "prince," cannot be taken thus in some cases, as the *heqā* of agricultural land, of the temple of a king, or of a mastaba tomb; "chief" is the only available word, or "chieftain," if we need to keep clear of confusion with an adjective. This will meet the highest requirement, of the king being "chieftain of the chiefs," and the chief of a tribe agrees to the status of the *heqā* of a nome.

A less independent position was the *her tep oā* (2), or great head over a nome, limited to the nome governors of Upper Egypt—not a primitive title like *heqā*, but probably nominated by the king. For this "ruler" would be a non-committal equivalent.

Another important title has been obscured by its being turned into an adjective; *uo* (3), the harpoon, used for "alone" or "singly," was the title of a sole ruler, as the *uo* of the lake in the Ist dynasty, and later the "great *uo* of the lake of Horus," a "great *uo* of the council hall," an "intendant of the diwan of the *uo* house" (club house), and a "great *uo* making the people live." In all these instances *uo* is a title, the "sole one," one who acts on his own responsibility. Further, at Deir el Bahri the row of Hathor priestesses under one king are all *nesut amt uotet*; they could not all be sole favourites, but they were all of *uo* rank. The term seems to mean an independent sole ruler of a district or group of people, or president of a council. As such, the *uo* was in the first stage of kingship, in essence the peer of the king; so the title *semer uoti* is not the "only companion," but the companion of *uoti* rank, and perhaps best rendered by "peer." It implied that the king was *primus inter pares*, surrounded by his peers in origin though not in power. The Ptolemaic equivalent was not "sole friends," but "first friends," of the highest rank.

The *hāti-o* (4) was a high title which essentially means the first person in front of others. The idea is that of *dux*; but duke would not fit in all cases, such as *hatio* of the temple of a king, or the cattle of Mentu, or of prophets. "Leader" is the meaning which will best agree to all the examples of the word; but it does not imply necessarily independence, like *heqā* or *uo*. The modern *mudir* is likewise applicable to leadership in various positions. A title which was hardly more than an adjective is *oā* (5), "great" or "high"; it is used of the manager of groups of foreigners in or near Egypt, the head of the customs, of the palace, or the audience hall, of the management of buildings and of quarries. In view of such varied duties our word "Warden" seems to agree most closely, like our Warden of the Cinque Ports, or of All Souls, or of the Standards.

Another such title was *ur* (6), "great" or "large." It is used of Notables, of one of the Council of Thirty, of the head of the queen's house, of the police, or of building. Yet there was a chief and a controller of the *uru*. The *ur* was the greatest person in an affair, the *maior*, and in its real sense "mayor" will best accord with this, and the *uru* of the South may well have been the mayors of cities.

As the *ur* judged Upper Egypt, so the *sar* (7) judged Middle Egypt. He was a civil official, but never military; whereas in Hebrew *sar* is usually military, "captain," or implies by "prince" that he belonged to the central government. In Middle Egypt the title was expressly local, one in each nome, and beside the *saru* council there was a *sar* of Memphis and one of Thebes. The daughter of Sneferu was a female *sar*, or Sarah. Our word "Lord," with its local and legislative connections, seems closely to correspond, and has also its feminine.

1 ?	2 𓆎	3 𓆏	4 𓆐	56 𓆑 𓆒	XVIII N.R.	𓆓 𓆔
5 𓆕	6 𓆖	7 𓆗	8 𓆘	57 𓆙 𓆚	L. 1013	𓆛 𓆜 𓆝
9 𓆞	10 𓆟	11 𓆠	12 𓆡	58 𓆢 𓆣	L.D. II. 102	𓆤 𓆥 𓆦
13 𓆧 𓆨	14 𓆩	15 𓆪	16 𓆫	59 𓆬 𓆭 𓆮	G.W.T. 258	𓆯 𓆰
17 𓆱	18 𓆲	19 𓆳	20 𓆴	60 𓆵 𓆶	V L.D. II. 45-8	𓆷 𓆸 𓆹
21 𓆺	22 𓆻	23 𓆼	24 𓆽	61 𓆾 𓆿	V S.M. IV, V	𓇀 𓇁
TITLE DYN. SOURCE NAME				62 𓇂 𓇃 𓇄	M.M. D. 52	𓇅 𓇆
25 𓇇 𓇈 𓇉	XII N.Bh. Ixxxii	𓇊	𓇋	63 𓇌 𓇍 𓇎	M.M. D. 23	𓇏 𓇐
26 𓇑 𓇒	I RT. II. 118	𓇓	𓇔	64 𓇕 𓇖 𓇗	MK C 20075	𓇘 𓇙 𓇚
27 𓇛 𓇜 𓇝	V M.M. D 5	𓇞	𓇟	65 𓇠 𓇡	XIX L.D. III. 132 n	𓇢 𓇣
28 𓇤 𓇥	XII	𓇦	𓇧	66 𓇨	IV L.D. II. 34g	𓇩 𓇪
29 𓇫 𓇬 𓇭	II RT. II. xxiv 210	𓇮	𓇯	67 𓇰 𓇱 𓇲	V L.D. II. 76-8	𓇳 𓇴 𓇵
30 𓇶 𓇷	IV L.D. II. 14 A	𓇸	𓇹	68 𓇺 𓇻	IV M.M. B. 1	𓇼 𓇽
31 𓇾 𓇿 𓈀	IV L.D. II. 14 A	𓈁	𓈂	69 𓈃 𓈄	IV-V L.D. II. 95 C	𓈅 𓈆
32 𓈇 𓈈 𓈉 𓈊	VI S.U. I. 117	𓈋	𓈌	70 𓈍	XIX M.A. 6 II 56	𓈎 𓈏
33 𓈐 𓈑 𓈒	XII N.Bh. I. 82	𓈓	𓈔	71 𓈕 𓈖 𓈗 𓈘	RO. B.A. 222	N.N.
34 𓈙 𓈚 𓈛	XVIII A.S. IX. 95	𓈜	𓈝	72 𓈞 𓈟 𓈠 𓈡	V M.M. C. 1	𓈢 𓈣 𓈤
35 𓈥	XVIII L.D. III. 3 C	𓈦	𓈧	73 𓈨 𓈩 𓈪 𓈫	I RT. I. XVIII 2	N.N.
36 𓈬 𓈭	XVIII S.U. IV 29	𓈮	𓈯	74 𓈰 𓈱 𓈲	OK M.M. G. O	𓈳 𓈴
37 𓈵 𓈶	A.S. X. III.	𓈷	𓈸	75 𓈹 𓈺	VI M.A.F. I, 193	𓈻 𓈼
38 𓈽	XVIII L.D. III. 62	𓈾	𓈿	76 𓉀 𓉁 𓉂 𓉃	VI B.G.	𓉄 𓉅
39 𓉆 𓉇 𓉈 𓉉	A.S. X. III.	𓉊	𓉋	77 𓉌 𓉍 𓉎 𓉏	MK C 20184	𓉐 𓉑
40 𓉒 𓉓 𓉔 𓉕	A.S. VI. 131	𓉖	𓉗	78 𓉘 𓉙 𓉚 𓉛	MK.C 20103	𓉜 𓉝
41 𓉞 𓉟 𓉠	A.S. VIII. 265	𓉡	𓉢	79 𓉣 𓉤 𓉥	XXII H.P.	N.N.
42 𓉦 𓉧	A.S. IV. 184	𓉨	𓉩	80 𓉪 𓉫 𓉬 𓉭	XII P. C 5	𓉮 𓉯
43 𓉰 𓉱 𓉲	XXVI L.D. III. 274	𓉳	𓉴	81 " " 𓉵	L. 448	𓉶 𓉷
44 𓉸 𓉹 𓉺	XII C 20231	𓉻	𓉼	82 𓉽 𓉾 𓉿	MK C 20577	𓊀 𓊁
45 𓊂 𓊃 𓊄	XVIII FL 1575	𓊅	𓊆	83 𓊇 𓊈 𓊉 𓊊	NEDERL. MUS. LXXIV, 546	𓊋 𓊌
46 𓊍 𓊎 𓊏	XXVIII N.R.	𓊐	𓊑	84 𓊒	XII P.S. III. 81	𓊓 𓊔
47 𓊕 𓊖 𓊗	XVIII L.D. III. 25*	𓊘	𓊙	85 𓊚 𓊛 𓊜 𓊝	XX. L.D. III. 237	𓊞 𓊟 𓊠
48 𓊡 𓊢 𓊣 𓊤	XIX BER.	𓊥	𓊦	86 𓊧 𓊨 𓊩	E.T. 256	𓊪 𓊫 𓊬
49 𓊭 𓊮 𓊯	XIX BER.	𓊰	𓊱	87 𓊲 𓊳	XII SIN. 28	𓊴 𓊵
50 𓊶 𓊷 𓊸 𓊹	XX BM. 752	𓊺	𓊻	88 𓊼	M.M. H. 13	𓊽 𓊾
51 𓊿 𓋀 𓋁 𓋂	XX P.J. IV. 4	𓋃	𓋄	89 𓋅 𓋆 𓋇	VI D.G. III. ix	𓋈 𓋉
52 𓋊 𓋋	III P.M.	𓋌	𓋍	90 𓋎 𓋏 𓋐	III M.M. A. 1	𓋑 𓋒
53 𓋓 𓋔 𓋕 𓋖	XXII P.H.	N.N.	𓋗	91 𓋘 𓋙 𓋚	V L.D. II. 49	𓋛 𓋜
54 𓋝	III P.M.	𓋞	𓋟	92 𓋠 𓋡 𓋢	OK D.M. 530-7	𓋣 𓋤
55 𓋥 𓋦	V M.M. D 38	𓋧	𓋨			

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93		M.M.E 6-7		133		V MM.D 44	
94		OK L. 53		134			
95		VI S.U. 187		135		V LD. II, 75	
96		XXII H.P.	N.N.	136		VI MM.E 14	
97		III L.D. II, 3		137		V S.M. VI	
98		VI D.G. II, X		138		IV MM.C 69	
99		MK C. 20041		139		V MM.D 19	
100		MA. 20		140		V MM.D 69	
101		P.S. 155		141		V MM.D 53	
102		XVIII G.W.T. 43		142		V MM.D 45	
103		IV LD. II, 35		143		V MM.D 44	
104		P.S. 165, 168		144		IV MM.B 10	
105		XVIII B.M. 464		145		III P.M. XVI	
106		T. 2513		146		XVIII E.T. 256	
107		XIX P.S.E.D. LXXIV		147		T. L. 250	
108		B.M.		148		MK C. 20614	
109		R.C. 134		149		I RT. II, V, 14	ZER
110		D.M. 527		150		I RT. II, XII, 1	ZER
111		D.M. 531		151		II RT. II, VIII, 12	KA-KAU
112		OK M.M. D 47		152		I RT. I, XXVIII	SMERKHET
113		AS. I. 157		153		MM.D 6	
114		III M.M. A 1		154		V, MM.D 19	
115		V LD. II, 79-81		155		V, B.N. 137	
116		IV M.M. B 16		156		VIC RT. I, 7-26	
117		XII C. 20539		157		V MM.D 3	
118		V. 51		158		XII NB. I, II	
119		XXI RJ		159		SU. II, 170	
120		IV AS. XVI, 261		160		P.G. 7A	
121		III P.M. XX		161		S.U. II, 180	
122		VI LD. II, 110-0		162		VI AS. XV, 3, 12	
123		IV LD. II, 75		163		IX SU. II, 131	
124		IV LD. II, 14		164		MA.F. 1, 205	
125		IV MM.C. 15		165		V LD. II, 91c	
126		MK.C 20010, XVIII E.T. 308		166		V LD. II, 65	
127		V S.U. I, 124		167		IV-V LD. II, 91	
128		XII REC. X. 144		168		V M.M. G.H.	
129		V MM.D 42		169		V LD. II, 91c	
130		MK.C 20322, XVIII L.R. 205		169		V MM.D 40	
131		XII A.S. VIII, 48		170		V M.M.D 24	
132		V LD. II, 60		171		XXII H.P.	N.N.

P.H., Papyrus, Hood. P.J., Papyrus, Judicaire. P.K., Petrie, Koptos. P.M., Petrie, Medum. P.S., Petrie, Season. P.Sed., Petrie, Sedment. R.C., Rosellini, Mon. Civile. Rec(ueil). R.T., Royal Tombs. S.B.A., Trans., Soc. Biblical Arch. Sin., Gardiner, Sinai. S.M., Murray, Saqqara Mastabas. ST(ockholm). S.U., Sethe, Urkunden. T(urin). T.C., Tombs of Courtiers. V(ienna). Z.A.S., Zeits. Aeg. Spr.

There is some confusion between *sar*, lord, and a similar figure for *semsu*, elder. It is certain that the *saru* formed the Council of Six of Middle Egypt, but whether the *hayt* , hall of judgment, was of *saru* or elders seems hardly defined. Similarly, there is a confusion between the *kherp* (8), sceptre of a controller, and the *sekhem* (9), sceptre of might or power. Where spelled out, the word is usually *kherp* in titles, and more applicable to the management of a body of men. It is applied to the Inundation (which may be controlled, but not dominated), to elders, the Home Office, to the populace, sheep and land in the 1st dynasty; later, it expresses control of the palace, the thrones, the lords of south and north, the kingship, the crown servants, the peasants and the priests. Thus "Controller" seems to be the only word applicable to all of these.

An early expression was to use the mouth sign *rā* (10) to express speech, and therefore command. The command of the ancient capitals of south and north was *rā Nekhen* and *rā Pe*. This sense of command, or ordering, passed on into a combined phrase, "in command," *em rā*, and was shortened to *mer*. The scope of the rank was applied to buildings, animals, grain, public works, land, yet also to the crowns, the treasury, and courts of justice; it implies every form of official observation and checking, but without any originating action. Thus "Intendant" is the nearest form, usual enough in French, which we generally overload as super-intendent.

The herdsman seated, *ari* (11), with his staff and hobble-rope, was the emblem of guarding or watching, applied to gates, to public offices, canals, a chariot, or a balance. "Keeper" will best accord with the scope of this title.

An epithet often added to grades of titles, and sometimes forming the whole title, is *sehez* (12), literally, making bright or clear. It is applied to all kinds of subjects—medicine, accounts, scribes, rough work, artistic work, to the followers and to lords. The sense is that of clearing up or explaining, as of something out of the ordinary routine. The *sehezu* formed a corps or body, with a *sehez sehezu*, manager, and seem to have been drawn on for special service in any department. They were "Expert" in various subjects—a sort of technical staff.

The commonest terms for offices were *okhenuti* (13) and *ot* (14). The former was the head office for a whole subject, though less in importance than our term "ministry"; it was most nearly a bureau or "diwan," a term which had better be adopted for it. The highest example was the king's office for receiving messengers and foreigners, and it was also applied to the treasury, to sailors, to corn and other matters of central business. The *ot* (14) was merely a public office of any kind in any place, for mere routine.

These preliminary definitions of grades, which appear in all kinds of departments, are needed as there have been various renderings regardless of the range of meaning required. Other titles which belong to special subjects will be dealt with under the section concerned.

The royal titles are the earliest that we can trace, and each of them implies a separate kind of rule. They were gradually increased in successive ages, down to the Vth dynasty. The first title was that of the red crown, *deshert* (15), which was carefully modelled in relief on a jar of s.d. 35-39, and therefore of the first prehistoric civilisation, after the Badarian (P. *Naqada* lii, 75). It is obviously a cap, like that of the Doge of Venice, with an ostrich feather stuck upright in it. We know more about it than did the historic Egyptians, who could make nothing of the traditional form which had reached them, and lengthened the high back,

and reduced the feather to a line which had no meaning. This was later the crown of Sais and of the goddess Neit, thus evidently of Libyan origin, and finding this far south, at Naqada, agrees with the Libyan source of the civilisation of that period.

Next, there is found in the later prehistoric age the plant of the South, *res* (16), roughly drawn on a pot, somewhere between s.d. 40 and 67; this became the *nesut* (16), title of the king of Upper Egypt. At this same time the ruler of the Delta was probably the *hcgā* (1) of Heliopolis, as that was later the sacred symbol of that city. The eastern position of this symbol points to an invasion of shepherd kings from Syria, like those of the VIIth and XVth dynasties.

The dynastic people settling in Upper Egypt adopted the falcon worship which they probably found there, and the king's soul was figured as a falcon ever after. To express his residence in the palace they represented the panelled wooden building, with the falcon over it (17), and this (as belonging to the ruling race) ever after took precedence of all other titles.

The new-comers married into the Saite family of Delta kings, and took the bee, *bat* (18), as the emblem of their northern dominion, the title *bati* clinging to the Libyan kings down to Greek times, in the form of *battos*. This almost superseded the *deshert*, crown (15), as the sign of the northern kingdom.

On having conquered both south and north, the double lordship was expressed by repeating the title *neb*, lord, as *nebiu* (19); during the Ist dynasty this was expanded (20) by adding the figures of the vulture of Nekheb (El Kab, the eastern fortress, facing the old capital of Nekhen, Hierakonpolis) and the uraeus of Uazet the goddess of Buto in the Delta. Thus the meaning of the double lordship was defined: the usual later title, *neb tauī* (21), or lord of two lands, may have been transferred from this; but it is strictly the two horizons, east and west, as is shown by a local prince having ruled his *tauī*, both lands.

In the dynastic times other titles were added. The cartouche (22) first appears in the IIIrd dynasty; it is copied from the twisted cord worn round the neck of the high priest of Horus, with the two ends tied in front horizontally, as shown on the statue of Ra-sonkh (Louvre A, 39). It implies, therefore, that the king was high priest of Horus, identified with the falcon god of the dynasty.

The *Her-nubti* title (23) was adopted in the IVth dynasty, to express the triumph of the Horus worshippers over the party of Set of Nubt.

The *Sā Ra* title (24) was regularly adopted in the Vth dynasty, to express the descent from Ra, through his priests, who probably personated the god. It is first seen a little earlier.

An interesting title of a king appears in (25), where the great noble Khnum-hetep of Beni Hasan is entitled "the New Year king of all the nobles." The New Year king survived till modern times as the degraded festival figure, but here we see that he was apparently an elective king of the old hereditary nobles, surviving from predynastic times. This is dealt with in detail in the first article in this number. There is also another trace of New Year ceremonies which will come in a later section, where the making fire on the New Year day for the old order of senators is named.

The queens also acquired a series of titles, but at a later period than the kings. At the beginning of the Ist dynasty there is only the description "United to the double lordship" (26), which remains in a fuller form in the Vth dynasty (27), and was altered in the XIIth dynasty to "United to Horus" (28). In the Ist dynasty Merneit has no title or description on her great stele, only the plain

name. At the end of the IInd dynasty there is the phrase, "All things she says are done for her" (29), and this reappears in the XVIIIth dynasty. The plain title, "Wife of the king" (30) begins in the IVth dynasty, and the description as she who "beholds Horus-Set" (31), showing that the king was still regarded as personifying the two gods, who had been "in peace" at the end of the IInd dynasty. In the VIth dynasty there are the phrases "Companion to Horus, bound up with Horus" (32).

In the XIIth dynasty a new aspect of the queen appears, not only as belonging to the king, but having official powers. She was *hent hemut nebt* (33), "Mistress of all women"; as this title appears also for the wife of a nome prince, it seems as if it had some real significance, implying some kind of direction. This title *hent* seems to be probably Libyan in origin, as Queen Aohmes was called Hent Tamehu (34), Mistress of the Tamehu Libyans, in the XVIIIth dynasty.

At the same period began the theocratic connection, when Aohmes Nefertari was called *hemt neter* (35), "wife of the god"; the god being specified by Queen Aoh-hetep, who was "divine wife of Amen" (36). As she was black it seems likely that this title was due to Ethiopian influence, for the queens of the Ethiopian dynasty were all divine wives and high-priestesses of Amen. There was also an official *am khenti* (37) "in the harem" of the god under the divine wife. The title "adorer of the god," *duat neter* (38), also begins in the XVIIIth dynasty. There was an intendant (39), an overseer of the gold (40), and a scribe (41) in the harem of the god. The "adorer of the god" had her own staff of a scribe (42) and a major-domo (43), who rose to be the business chief of the Thebaid under the priest-queens of the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties.

In early times there does not seem to have been any separate quarter named for the queen, or harem (*khent*). By the XIIth dynasty the harem had its separate scribe of the *khent* (44); in the XVIIIth there was a "leader of the great *khent*" (45) and an "intendant of the dignities of the *khent*" (46). All of these were men, the last being the great vezier Rekhmara. A curious sign comes into use after the XIIth dynasty for the harem, a corner with a rounded completion of the enclosure, and a smaller enclosure within it (48, 49). This sign could only arise from a rough fencing off in the corner of a ruined building, such as squatters now make. It seems a relic of the rude necessities of life during the destructions by the Hyksos invasion.

The palace apartments of the queen are often named, as by the "intendant of the dwelling of the royal wife Shepset-ra" (47), or the "scribe of the intendant of the harem in the lofty palace of Memphis" (48), or the "scribe of the table of the king's harem" (49), or the "intendant of the royal harem of the great queen, lady of both lands" (50), and the "scribe of the king's harem, *khent*" (51).

The royal children are often named. The great tomb of Meydum was for the king's eldest son, Nefer-mäot (52); and in the decline of the monarchy the king's eldest son, *s semsem* (53), had a recognised status. Ra-hetep was also a king's son (54), and a king's child, *sezet nesut*, is named in the Vth and XVIIIth dynasties (55, 56). There was a "palace controller of the suckling children," *per oä kherp ne shed mer* (57), also a "daughter of the palace" (58), and a "scribe of the house of the king's children" (59). The tutors and nurses will be noted later.

In considering the palace and its offices we must not think of a compact block of building, still less of a castle. The palace at Amarna covered a large area, in which various buildings were scattered; and in a primitive court at Uganda the

king's great enclosure had large blocks of houses in it with wide roads between, and many guards camped in tents in the enclosure, as well as chiefs serving the king. The same system is seen in Oriental palaces where not under foreign influence or compacted for defence.

The nature of the main building is indicated in its simplest form by the soul house, or in its greatest style by the temple plans. The fore-court is an essential part, named in temples (Denderah) as the *usekht*, from *usekh*, "wide," hence the names for the wide collar, and for a cargo boat of wide beam. In the Old Kingdom there was a controller of the *usekht* (60), an intendant (61), an expert (62), an intendant of the scribes of the *usekht* (63); it was probably the primitive place for royal justice (see (73)).

Another building is also usually rendered as palace, the *oh* (64 to 71), connected with *oho*, up-standing, and represented as a lofty building with a doorway at the base. The form of it suggests a great gateway to the whole royal enclosure, and the high gate tower of Medinet Habu seems to carry on the old idea. There is no suggestion of any business being carried on in this building beyond the duties of the entrance. A keeper of the office of the gate (64), a headman of the office (65), a controller of the gate (66, 67), an intendant (68), an expert (69), and a mayor (70) are all named in different periods. There was a watch with a staff of followers, *em khet res oh* (71). Another great building in the enclosure was a "hall of splendours," which had a controller (72); this was probably for festivals.

Coming now to the great business of public audiences of the king, the first mention is on a seal of the "keeper or commander of the gates of the *usekht* hall for the words of Horus (king) Zet" in the Ist dynasty (73). The *seh* is termed a council hall, but it may not have been for the king. It is possible that it is connected with *sehu*, to assemble, and with the *soh* order of nobles, which will be dealt with later. There was a controller expert (74) and an intendant controller of the *seh* (75). Kagemne was "intendant of all the audience" (76) or hearing of pleas.

The *khǎ* hall was used by the king (79) and also by the vezier (77). It was the hall of justice in the capital, apart from the halls of Middle and Upper Egypt of the *saru* or *uru*. There are doorkeepers named (77, 78), a warden (79), and an "intendant of the diwan" (80). The golden hall of the *khǎ* (81) is not explained. There was a guard of the *khǎ* hall, provided by the *remtu*, or lowest class of labourers (82).

In the more general service of the whole palace there are named a "servant *sezem osh* (hearing a call) of the great double house of Pharaoh" (83), an "intendant of the great house" (84), "in the king's palace" (85), an "intendant of the diwan of Pharaoh" (86), an "overseer of the palace" (87), and an "elder of the great house" (88). The safety of the palace was secured by a guard, *nekh* (89), or *sǎ ur* (90). There were intendants of the great house (91), and of all the house of the king (92). The office of the palace had an intendant (93), a keeper (94), a chief (95), and in late times a warden (96). The gates of the palace had regular officials, a "controller of the gate of the king Horus" (97), an intendant (98), keeper (99), and overseer (100), and there was a "scribe of the seal of the gate" (101).

The *set* or *ast* of the king (102), figured by a throne, implies much what a "gentleman's seat" does in English, a rather important residence, not necessarily the main palace. The "intendant of the noble *asut* of the great house" (103) suggests the various separate buildings in the royal enclosure. The "keeper of the door of the *ast*" (105) probably attended to one of the lesser palaces.

There were various lesser buildings, such as the *ahu*, stables (106), and stables of the diwan (107), and the stables of the king (108, 109). All of these had overseers, and no other rank of management is named. There was a place of cooling, not only for water supply, but to maintain a cool residence, as in the "palace cooling great house" (113); a controller (110), scribe (111), and intendant (112) were attached to this cool house. There was also a cooling chamber of the slaughter-house, which will be noted under food. A little booth or lodge of the king, made of entwined palm sticks (114) is named in early times; it would be like the Bishari mat huts at Aswan.

The *het onkh*, house of life (115-120), was an important office, not yet clearly defined. It was closely connected with the king, as there was a controller of the two thrones (115) in it, and a scribe of the king (118) in it. It was a place of royal function, connected with writing (118, 119) and with Safekh, the goddess of writing (116). It also had estates of agricultural land, *her adeb* (116, 120), connected. The presidency of the king in it (115) almost proves that judicial or legislative business was conducted. It may be that the king presided over the register of *onkhu*, living persons, for selection of corvée and conscription.

The inhabitants of the large enclosure of the "great house" were very varied, for the ruler's dwelling was in fact the chief office of all the government, as it was in Rome under Augustus, and as may be seen on a small scale now in the house of an *omdeh*.

There were many royal favourites (121, 122), *amă*, the tree sign. The men always are *amă-o* (121), or favourite agent, one who acts in any way. The women were without duties, merely *amt* or *amt ur* (124), great favourite; or royal favourite, *nesut amt* (122); or royal favourite of high rank, *nesut amt uoti* (125). The last title continues to the New Kingdom, the others disappear. These favourites were not merely casual persons, but were an organised body with a ruler (128) and an intendant (123). They were apparently sent to the court from a distance, as the great vezier Una had the charge of "bringing the tribute of royal favourites" (127).

There was another class, the "royal adorners," *se khekeru*, of the Horus king (129), otherwise written *nesut kheker* (130), or *khekeru ur*, great adorer (131). These adorners were always women, apparently the widows who attended to the upkeep of the tomb, as in Central Africa now; they are recruited by fresh girls for some generations, but any are free to leave the service and marry (*Anc. Eg.*, 1921, 52); thus there were many nobles' wives who had been royal adorners.

Another sign  differs from both the previous, but as it is spelled sometimes as *shekeru* (133, 134) it has been supposed to be equivalent to *khekeru*. There was, however, a difference in its nature; it was essentially an office held by men, twelve instances to one of a woman. Yet it is not the same as the *amă* men, as they always have the arm *o* added, while  never has the arm after it. These *shekeru* were a more organised body than the other classes; there was an "intendant of the registry of the king's *shekeru*" (137, 138, 139), a secretary, *her seseshta* (140), and an expert "palace expert intendant of the *merhert* of the royal *shekeru*" (143). This word *merhert* cannot be *merhet*, ointment, as it has the *hert*, "sky" determinative (142, 143). There is also an "intendant of royal *shekeru ne hemu*. This group of *shekeru* needs explanation, taking into account their obvious differences from the *khekeru*. The possible connection with *sakar*, hired, or *shekar*, strong drink (Heb.), should be kept in mind.

There were children of nobles brought up in the palace, as in the IIIrd dynasty there is a "child known to the palace" (145), and in the later times there was an institution of the *kāp* (concealed place) or nursery, a quarter for children where the nobility associated with the royal children. A "child of the *kāp*" (146) is often named in biographies, and there was an "intendant of the diwan of the *kāp*" (147, 148).

The king's toilet is often named in early times. There were bowls for the washing of the hands in the Ist dynasty (149, 150) and for the washing of king Ka-kau (151). Under Semerkhet a sealing shows that there was a "mouth washing of the palace" (152); the sign is also applied to drink (*P. Medum*, xxiv), but the sealing came from a small packet tied up in cloth, which could not belong to wine, but might well have been a packet of natron mouth wash. In the lists of offerings, after the morning meal of bread and beef and beer, water and natron were used to clean the mouth (*Sedment*, 4, pl. xii). There was an "intendant of the mouth washing" (153), and "of all the places of the royal mouth wash" (154). Down to the XIIth dynasty there was an "*ur* of the hand washing in the king's house" (157-154); also an "expert belonging to the cabinet (locked room) of the king's mouth wash" (160). There were also an "intendant of the *okheti* of the hand washing" (161), probably the braziers (*okh*) for heating the water; and an "intendant of the basin (*shot*) of the desired place of his lord" (162, 163). The care for cleanliness extended to the household, as there was the "palace controller of washing hands" (164).

The shaving was cared for specially in the Vth dynasty, when there was a *nesut ar ushr* (165), "royal maker bare," denoted by the cut-off lock of hair; also the controller of the king's shaving (166) and the "friend, controller of shaving" (167), a scribe of shaving (168), palace shaver (169), and a royal expert (170). In the late list of dignities is the "overseer of skilful shavers of the palace" (171), and in a Roman list are the barbers, *khogay* (172).

The care of the regalia was naturally a special charge of the "intendant of the two crowns" (173), and there was a "controller of the store-rooms, lower crown" (174) and "of the two crowns" (175) (the meaning of this sign as store-rooms will be dealt with, under stores). Also a "great royal warden of the lower crown" (176). In later times the two crowns *hezt* and *deshert* were combined as *pa sekhemti*, the two dominions, the *pskhent* of the Greeks (177). There was also a "scribe bearing the *mehet* (uraeus), lord of brilliance" (178), the uraeus on the king's forehead being specially sacred. There was also a keeper of the royal diadem (179) and an overseer of the head-cloth, *nems* (180). In the Middle Kingdom there appears one "making inventory of the statues (*tet*) and ensigns (*āms*)" (181). The royal sceptre *heqā* had a bearer (182); there were also bearers of the weapons (*khou*) of the kings in the XVIIIth dynasty (183, 184) (see (214)).

The two thrones of south and north are represented in the *sed* festival of the VIth dynasty, and a controller of them is named in the XIth dynasty (185). The XIIth dynasty had an overseer of three thrones (186); this might be a plural of more than three, implying all the thrones of the earth, but it seems more likely, from the precision and absence of bombast of that age, that a third throne was intended, and as at that time the south was the region of conquest, this would be the throne of Ethiopia. The overseer of the thrones (187) is named later, and an overseer of the carrying litter (188). The basis of the thrones had a separate keeper, "over the steps" (*khend*) (189-190), determined by the square basis and the slope up to the throne. There was apparently an "elder of the throne

base" (191). In the centre of the great court of the palace of Apries at Memphis there was sunk in the pavement a very accurately cut box of stone, which formerly had a lid over it. This seemed likely to be intended to contain a basis for a throne, which could be lifted out and placed in position when required (*Palace of Apries*, pp. 2, 3). The throne itself would, of course, be kept in a locked store-room, the *nest khentet*, or "cabinet of the throne" (192).

The escort of the king consisted of followers, *khetu*, "behind" the king, managed by an *urkhet* or mayor of the followers (193), who were "in the followers" (194). A scribe of the followers from the desert Tenu people is named (195). There was occasionally a *sennu* of the king (196), usually rendered "guide."

The principal escort in the open country was the *shemsu*, occasionally an "expert *shemsu*" (197). This sign is explained in detail by a delicately painted example on a tablet in Turin; the tall upright line turned over above is the great hunting shield which screened the hunter, carried on the back of the follower by a broad band at the middle; the line projecting above that is the large pointed hunting knife, and the line sloping below is the leg of the follower walking forward. The titles are "*shemsu* of his lord for following him" (198); "his *shemsu* in the following of his majesty" (199); "royal *shemsu* in his dwelling" (200); "upon the deserts" (201, 202); "royal *shemsu* for following after his lord in the south and north" (203); the controller, overseer and seal bearer (204-5-6-7) show that these followers were an organised body, with an office and a messenger (208). There was a *shemsu* of the out-of-the-way corners of the southern towns (210). The organisation is shown by their having a chief of their own, *shemsu shemsu* (211), not an outside authority; for such a body, owning allegiance to a king or noble, this title implies a coherent union appointing its own head. In Saite times there was a female *shemsu* for the priestess-queen of Thebes (212); a *shemsu* of the ships is also mentioned (213). A bearer of the bow of the king is known (214), and intendants of the house of elders of the king (215) and queen (216).

The royal guard was a very important body, usually directly under the vezier. It has not been recognised hitherto, as it is written with the waistcloth sign; but it would be absurd to suppose the great Rekhmara managing an article of clothing, and the title is placed between the highest offices, such as the viceroy and royal seal bearer (S·U·I, 118). In primitive days men of inferior rank seldom wore more than a girdle, and the full loin cloth from waist to knee would distinguish a guardsman, like a bearskin now. The *sheny* (219) who surrounded the king wore the *shent* or *shendyt* dress (218); the usual title is controller of all the guard (220, 221); there was also an "intendant of the king's guard" (222).

A lower grade of guard, not under the veziers, was the *său*, written with the heel rope (223) or the amulet (224). These, by their number and inferiority, were the general police, not specially attached to the palace. One of the guard was simply *am să*, "in the guard" (223, 224). There were controllers (225), intendants (226), great ones (227), and captains (229) of the guard. In some places, such as temples, the guards were changed, as when one was "in his hour on the third guard" (228). There was a "palace expert of the great guard" (230), a "keeper of the office of the guard" (231). A special body were the chosen guard, *setep să* (232), with a "leader in the chosen guard" (233), and a "master of the chosen guard" (234). They were selected for service from the others, as it is said of an official that "he made choice of guard for the king every day" (235). There were scribes of the guard (236, 237) and a "fan-bearer of the guard of the great house of Pharaoh" (238), and a royal clothier (or out-fitter) of the guard, *nesut opep ne*

172	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	Ro.BA. 227	N.N.	212	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ
173	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	V B.N.	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	213	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	L. V. 102
174	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	VI D.G.I. 3,8,18	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	214	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	P. A 62
175	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	V B.G.	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	215	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XVIII L.R. 256
176	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	MK.C. 20181	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	216	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XVIII L.R. 37
177	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	A.S. XVI, 199	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	217	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ
178	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	P.C. 107	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	218	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XVIII N.R.
179	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	BM. 227	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	219	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XIX.5BA.XIV, 165
180	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ			220	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	V M.M. D38
181	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	MK.C. 20683	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	221	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XXVI REC. XXI, 67
182	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ			222	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	V L.D. II. 75
183	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	T. 1459	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	223	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	P
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186	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	XII C. 20539	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	226	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	A.S. III, 75
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193	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	OK MM. D38	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	233	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	P.R. 33
194	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	MK C 20255	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	234	ᠠᠳᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ	VI S.U. I; 87
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său (239). The guard of the chief of Heliopolis is twice mentioned (240, 241), suggesting that the ruler of the old principality kept up his state. There was also a strictly personal attendant, *hen zet ef*, "in care of his body" (242).

The axe titles seem to be mixed in character. The veziers in the early times bore two axes (244), and in the IIIrd dynasty is an "axe man causing to cut off," suggesting executions, as a function of the king's son. The high place of the axe man in the VIth dynasty is shown by the list of titles of mayor in the southern court, king's axe man, judge, conservator of waterways (250); there was a registry of the office of the royal axe man (249). All of these suggest that the king's axe-bearer stood at his side to protect him, and to see to the execution of any who were condemned. Other axe titles refer to construction, and will be noted later on. There was also a soldier guard, and a man was *em pekher mashou ent uartu ne heqă* "in the surrounding soldiers of the messengers of the chief" (251), henchmen ready to go with orders. A local guard of five men for a chief seems to be named at Beni Hasan (252, 253).

The fan-bearer was introduced from Syrian influence at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty (Ay), and lasted till dropped by the Saïtes. The "bearer of the fan of the king upon his right hand" (254, 255) was of high political power, as able always to hear affairs and to whisper advice. He was usually the vezier under the Ramessides. There was also a fan-bearer of Amen-ra (256). A fan-maker, "clothier of the fan," is named (258). For state purposes there was a "royal chamber of placing the sandals" (259), whether placing on the feet, or depositing them, is not clear. Another personal service was the "bearer of the king's writing tablet" (260). The bearer of the light is named (261) as "the king's lighting man" (264); *she* is probably for *shemu*, burning. Another title is *mer bou*, "intendant of lights" (205). Lighting was never extensive anciently, and we may recall that among the Norsemen it was the duty of an attendant to hold a candle opposite the king's dish that he might see to eat.

The physician, *sunu*, was an important person often represented, from the Vth dynasty (266) to the XXVIth (267). There was the palace physician (268), the palace expert physician (270), the intendant (269) and the "office of the body physician" (271). The high noble Hesy was "great in flesh doctoring" (272), and later there are "great ones of flesh" (273, 274), probably surgeons. There was a special "physician of the lake men" (275), perhaps for dealing with malaria in the marshes. A "physician of a gang" appears in Sinai (276), or perhaps of the guard. A remarkable title is the *serq*, which from its association with the physicians is taken by Dr. Gardiner to mean magician. In (277) there is the "physician, controller of the magician," others in (278). The "controller of the *serq* of the king" occurs (279), a later writing in (280). Also a *să serq* (281), magician of a gang or of the guard.

There was also a definite Health department, with an "over secretary of health, *senbet*, in the temple of Tahuti" (282). This points to its being a matter of skill and knowledge, and not of magic. The same man was "the palace intendant of  *senbet* in the dwelling" (283). Here a large pot contains the means of health, and there was a "palace expert" of it (284). The contents of the pot were probably the *senb* incense, which is shown as offered to Amten (L.D. II. v), so called as being used for healthy fumigation. Similarly, there was a man with *rekht*, "knowledge of incense, *senther*, in the palace of the south" (285). In the absence of being able to extract the volatile oils, which we know to be so valuable as disinfectants, the burning of scented material was the best way of

diffusing the vapour; the establishing of a fumigating department, with a secretary, intendant and expert, was a real step in hygiene. There was also an intendant of the health office, *per ne uză* (286). Prescriptions were made up by the "intendant of the office of measurer of medicine" (287), and the "intendant of medicine, *sheno*." An oculist is mentioned as the "palace expert of making to see" (289).

The companions, *semer* ("causing love" (?)) of the king were many, but were entirely personal and not organised in any way as a body, or with any official management, until the XVIIIth dynasty. They were simply courtiers who had familiar access to the king. In the Ist dynasty we see a "companion of the royal house" (290), and the title occurs both for men and women in the IIIrd dynasty (291). In the IVth dynasty the palace companion was a common title (292). Some headship under a noble of the *soh*, senator, appears in the XIIth dynasty (293). In the XVIIth, there is a "first companion of the companions" (294), and an elder of the mayors and companions (295). No such control appears over the *semer uoti* (296), or peers, companions of ruling rank, who begin in the IVth dynasty. Various terms are added to the title, as companion of the king (297), or true (298), or (as a prince) companion of his father (299), or being loved (300, 301), or great of love (302), of his lord (303), at the side of the king (304), or without his equal (305).

A title commonly read as *nesut rekh*, "knowing the king," is also spelled more fully with *t*, which gives the reading *ră khet nesut* (307), or *per oă* (308), "ordering the things of the king," or "of the palace," as suggested by Miss Murray. A very familiar person describes that he was "chief, *teḫ*, in making friends with the lord of both lands himself, for making plans" (306).

The outdoor life was greatly altered by the introduction of the horse. The old chair or donkey was exchanged for the rapid chariot from Syria, and all the terms about it were Semitic. The chariot was the *merkebta*, Heb. *merkabah*, the driver *kazena*, Heb. *katzên*, captain, the second *seni*, Heb. *sheni*, similar to our borrowing of *chassis*, *chauffeur* and *garage* nowadays. There are here the "chief *kazena* of His Majesty" (309), and "the *kazena* of the diwan" (310). The fighter in the chariot was the *seni* or second man (311). The title (312) seems like a misreading of "leader of the charioteers (*qo* for *qor*) of Thebes." The "keeper of the chariot of the king" is named (313).

Adulation was thickly bestowed on the ruler; as Disraeli said, it should be laid on with a trowel. There was a class of praisers, *hesu*, of whom there was an intendant (314, 315) and a "controller of the crown praisers" (316), both early and late (317). The "great praisers" (318) were all women. There are praisers in the festival (319), and of the king (320-1-2). The princesses were "great of praisers" (323). A curious title was that of the adorer on his knees with hands uplifted, addressing the king, "Oh! thou," the beginning of a laudation, which reminds us of the day of O! Sapientia in the Church kalendars.

The singers had a *sehez ne hesot bener măo*, expert of singing truly sweet (325), accompanied by a praiser on the harp (326). The dancers were organised, with an intendant of the registry (327). For the worship of the king there is an "offerer to Men-kheper-ra" (328). Lastly, there were men to fill up all the stray duties of being "intendant of all royal things," *niutsut* (330), and "intendant of the king's servants" (331).

Other articles in future will deal with the management of the country, the agriculture and trades.

THE CAUCASIAN ATLANTIS AND EGYPT.

THE tales about Atlantis have a perpetual fascination for those who love to speculate on the riddles of the past. The latest theory is that of Mr. Reginald Fessenden, which he has put forward in *The Deluged Civilization of the Caucasian Isthmus*, and with additions bearing more on Egypt in the *Christian Science Monthly*, 18th March, 1924. The writer is competent to handle the questions from a scientific point of view, and he has certainly stated some positions which are worth considering independently of his main proposition. It is desirable, therefore, to notice various parts of the theories separately, so as to see how much can be accepted.

There can be no doubt that the Caucasus had a larger place in ancient geography and beliefs than in modern thought. That region was the background of Greek myths—Prometheus, Herakles, Jason; Herodotus knew the general condition of it, and Strabo gives a detailed account of the geography and the tribes. It is not unreasonable, then, to consider if it may be referred to as the region of other half-mythical accounts.

In the legend of the Hesperides there are two opposite accounts confused. According to one source, Herakles advances to Mount Caucasus, kills the vulture which fed on Prometheus, and arrives at Mount Atlas among the Hyperboreans. Here is an entirely different localisation of the myth to that in the western ocean. Mr. Fessenden, after tabulating the various myths, follows the Asiatic clue as the earlier, and considers that the Greeks lost the original view owing to geographical changes; then the myth was transferred to lands which had later come into prominence in the West. He notes that Homer and Hesiod had no knowledge of Spain or the Atlantic, that the description of the ocean of Atlantis will not agree with the later Atlantic, and that there is no submerged area to be traced there belonging to traditional times.

This view that Mount Atlas was Asiatic brings us to the geological standpoint of an "Asiatic Mediterranean" of the early Pleistocene, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to include the Black Sea and the Caspian. This region would be all flooded by the last great submersion to 600-feet level. The connection of the Caspian with the Black Sea lasted much later, and would only require less than 50-feet rise of sea-level to renew their unity. A tradition of this seems shown when Strabo mentions that some persons still believed in a connection of the Caspian with the lake Maiotis (Sea of Azov), the northern branch of the Black Sea. Various legends of Herakles, Atlas, and the Pillars of Herakles, are all, then, taken as belonging to the Black Sea region, and having been later transferred to the West, when the Greeks were familiar with their colonial expansion in Sicily, Italy, Spain and France. The various traditions of the Deluge are next compared, from five different sources, and all refer to the Black Sea or lands adjacent. The nature of the catastrophe involves a sudden rise of sea-level, of amounts up to 125 feet. The conclusion is that a tidal wave in the Atlantis Sea north of the Black Sea caused a rush of water, which flooded all the shores of the Caucasus and destroyed a civilisation in that region. Such was the source of the legends of Atlantis.

An entirely separate course of the new theories is the proposed Egyptian connection with the Caucasus. Until this year anyone viewing such theories from the Egyptian side would have felt them to be outside of reasonable consideration. But a fundamental change has come over Egyptian archaeology with the discovery of the earliest civilisation yet known, which appears to be akin to the Solutrean. The remote district of Badari has now entered into archaeological literature, as the seat of the Badarian culture, of a high type in its pottery and ability to glaze, and well advanced in figure working. Moreover, this is clearly the basis of all the following prehistoric civilisation of Egypt; it forms part of the continuity of civilisation in that land. If—as appears—this is derived from the same stock as the Solutrean culture of Europe, it must have travelled down from the Caucasus region, for the Solutrean work passed north of the Black Sea into Austria, Poland and northern France, without developing on the Mediterranean. Hence the groundwork of Egyptian civilisation—planted on an African people—is from the Caucasus; with it, presumably, arrived a strong stock of the people who brought it, as a mere trade influence could not be supposed to travel so far with such fundamental effect on most arts.

This entirely new outlook finds strong support in ancient statements. Herodotus insists on the resemblances between the Colchians—south of the Caucasus—and the Egyptians in appearance, in customs, and in products. The Colchians are said to be dark by Herodotus, Pindar and Euripides, and Homer and Hesiod speak of Ethiopians in Colchis. Unhappily no research is possible in that region of Georgia, as it is now tortured politically by the Soviet.

The earliest civilisation of Egypt being thus linked to the Caucasus region, we cannot disregard some resemblances of names which Mr. Fessenden brings forward, and which may be further extended. In the Book of the Dead the sun is said to rise over the mountain of Bakhau, and the modern Baku is at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus. The sun is said to set in Tamanu, and the Taman peninsula is at the western end of the Caucasus. Close by that is the lake of Maiotis (Sea of Azov), and the lake Maoti was close to Tamanu in the west (ch. xvii). The gate to the Eastern horizon is called Haukar (Nebseni, ch. xvii), “behind the head of Kar,” and from Colchis the pass to the east is behind the head of the river Kur (Gr. Kuros), which descends to the Caspian, past Tiflis.

Such resemblances of names are sufficiently consistent in their position and in their relation to the probable source of the Egyptians to require full consideration, although we know how easily verbal resemblances may mislead. Any such names brought into Egypt with the first civilisation would necessarily undergo localisation in new positions in and around Egypt. In the Caucasus region the natural fires of petroleum springs, both in the west at Batoum, in Colchis, and in the east at Baku on the Caspian, are claimed as the original idea of the lakes of fire in the Book of the Dead. Further, these fiery streams and marshes are taken to be the origin of the Greek Pyri-phlegethon; the rich valley of the river Alazon is taken to be the origin of Elysion, and Erebus is the dark defile of the pass through the Caucasus. The *Odyssey* contains a sort of guide-book to the petroleum region, and many other connections are claimed. Whatever may be rejected, there seems to be good ground for seriously considering what has been noted above and seeing how far legends and traditions can be substantiated by research.

REVIEWS.

Studies of Early Pottery of the Near East. I.—Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt and their earliest inter-relations. By H. FRANKFORT, M.A. 8vo. 146 pp. xiii pls. 1924. (Royal Anthropological Institute.)

Such a work as this has long been wanted, to place the results of discoveries in the East clearly before students. Though many publications have dealt with the excavations, yet there was important material still unpublished, which the author has also searched out and been allowed to examine in various Continental museums. Hence this is the most comprehensive account available, especially on the Asiatic side. To begin with, the technical details are set out regarding material, form and decoration. The practical influences are kept in view, in the nature of the clay, the extent of wheel motion, and the habits which determine the shape, and it is sought to use the word "method" for the general character, and reserve "style" for the individual treatment.

The earliest pottery of Susa is carefully described, pointing out that it was solely funerary and copied from the forms of leather vessels used in daily life. The decoration is full of energy; it does not seem to be related to any other source yet known. The close of it was due to the entire desertion of the place for a long period, during which all the walls were ruined and a bed of entirely barren dust accumulated. It is proposed that this was due to a period of drought, which drove away the inhabitants down to the river courses. When there was more rainfall a second civilisation arose, which was linked with the North Syrian naturalistic pottery in form and design. The same two periods are also separate at the site of Musyan, so the division was not merely due to locality. This second-period pottery has also been found in Mesopotamia and Bushire, along with flint hoes, ground stone axes, arrow points, barbed and leaf-shaped, graving points of obsidian and rock crystal, spindle whorls and net sinkers, but no metal. This seems closely parallel in culture to the Badarian of Egypt. Various isolated sites of early pottery are also described, which seem to be more or less in relation to this; but the few glimpses which we get are too scattered and slight to form any continuous account. The wholesale destruction of historic evidences by the unscientific mode of work at Susa and elsewhere is hinted at, but it was really most disgraceful. Accurate and complete record is bitterly needed all over the Eastern sites, but we are supplying scarcely any men or money for the great task.

The whole of these two civilisations ran their course before the Sumerians appeared. These people are here by exclusion limited to arriving from the Persian Gulf, and a Dravidian connection is accepted as the most probable. This guess of Dr. Hall's has been singularly corroborated by the sudden discovery in the Punjab of seals with figures of bulls and inscriptions, closely like the Sumerian. These are noticed later in the present number. We should observe here that such a connection does not at all imply that the Sumerians came from India. The mouth of the Persian Gulf at Bandar Abbas is half-way between the Indus and the South Mesopotamian cities. We know nothing yet of the archaeology of the South of Persia, and from there the Sumerians may have branched east and west. They were in no way related to the older Mesopotamians. They brought in domesticated cattle, but had no bows or arrows, and only coarse shaggy clothing.

The older people, on the contrary, were hunters of wild cattle with bow and arrow, and wore fine linen.

A very important point is mentioned, that glass was found in a tomb at Assur, which belongs to about 2500 B.C. This indicates the Tigris source of the occasional pieces of early glass found in Egypt, before the profusion started by the Asiatic artisans of Tahutmes III.

By the time of the triumph of the Semite under Naram-sin "decay had already set in strongly," and the political overthrow of the Sumerians by their new masters would entirely accord with this change.

The successive civilisations of Anau, east of the Caspian, are compared with the above; but it is concluded that there is no real connection between them, and copper was used in all the periods of Anau.

The Egyptian study in this work could not include the fresh discovery of the Badarian age, but this would not affect any of the statements concerning the periods here dealt with, except the earliest.

The white cross-lined pottery of s.d. 30-34 is discussed as a young style, tentative and growing, and it is suggested that it originated in Egypt and that the black-topped pottery grew from it; also the Algerian pottery "may have" been due to what Libyans learned in Egypt. Against this, however, is the difference of forms of the cross-lined and the black-top pottery. Now, further, we can add that the black top was a modification of the earlier Badarian ware. The white cross-lined is intrusive on that development, with new forms and painted designs, both unknown in Badarian and not established in later times. This seems to prove that it was intrusive, brought by the people who started the s.d. 30 civilisation on the back of the old Badarian. It "may have" been entirely imported from Algeria, as the size is always small, but the figures of hippopotami are more likely to be Nilotic.

The decorated pottery of s.d. 40-60 is likewise clear of any resemblance to Susian. It is regarded as a formulated style, but not old or denaturalized. It is agreed that the source of the people was probably in the eastern mountains by the Red Sea, and that they came in at s.d. 38 and superposed their stone vases and the pottery imitations on the older culture. Gradually they copied the Egyptian subjects, ending with the ship designs adopted in 45.

Regarding the introduction of new kinds of pottery and art, in order to pacify the *a priori* ideas of anti-invasion writers, there is the statement that "The influx only in exceptional cases takes the form of a hostile invasion." It would be curious to know where the cases are that are not "exceptional," when we find violent slaughter represented in all the early periods of monuments; Khosekhemui boasts of 47,209 slain.

The Syrian connections of Egypt begin with the wavy-handled jars, which it is suggested were imported with olive oil. No olive oil, however, has such an aromatic scent as is typical of the contents of these jars. The importation is considered to have gone on to s.d. 62, and after that the cylindrical form was reached and copied in Egypt. The vases found in the Royal Tombs with resins are taken to be North Syrian, mainly on the ground of the vases of Syrian tribute figured by Sahura, and these are on the way to the form of the Syrian flasks, which grew into the long thin red flasks. These were introduced under Tahutmes III, which points to their coming from a district only reached by his conquests, and therefore from North Syria. The similar vases with orange-dotted triangles can also be paralleled from North Syria.

The bird-shaped vases are found in Egypt, Palestine, Susa, Cappadocia, and Amorgos. The earliest rhyta come from Anatolia or North Syria. It is concluded that the original source was Anatolia, and that they were copied in other lands, east and west and south. The view is suggested that an invasion (shown on the earliest palettes) was pressing into the Delta from the east, and so cut off the connection between Egypt and Syria at about s.d. 60. The view of a large state in the West Delta is upheld, and it is supposed that such was the channel of traffic to Crete. Unhappily, no one has yet found in the Delta any such culture.

The Mesopotamian connections are fully described. The distinction between Egyptian and Sumerian art is noted, the Egyptian always copying living forms, the Sumerian always stylizing, the difference between hieroglyphics and cuneiform. Suddenly, when the dynastic people are arriving, there are found (1) the type of the hero between two animals; (2) the serpo-leopards with linked necks; (3) the lion jumping on a bull's back (the Egyptian always showed him seizing the muzzle of a butting bull); (4) the panelled brick building; (5) the head on socket stones; (6) decorated mace heads; (7) pottery stands; (8) cylinder seals. This introduction of so many Sumerian features in one period of migration shows that a considerable body of men must have entered the country. The cylinders are considered to start from the engraved beads as amulets; to have originated in Mesopotamia or North Syria, thence to have been adopted in Egypt as amulets for future welfare; to have been modified to three-sided prisms in the Delta; to have been adopted for sealing in Sumeria, and to have been brought thence into Egypt as seals in the Ist dynasty.

It will be seen that much reliance is placed on two hypothetical regions, North Syria and the West Delta. Little can yet be shown from the one, and nothing from the other. We must, then, not build anything further on such a foundation, which as yet requires some local evidence. There is also a matter needing some reserve in supposing a direct transmission between Sumeria and Egypt by the dynastic people. The distance is like that of the Norsemen passing by the Atlantic and Mediterranean round to Greece. They did so in their raids, but it was a remarkable feat. The strong linkage with Punt suggests that land as a half-way house, where Sumerian culture may have lingered and adopted the Punite gods Min and Hathor on the way, to be brought in through Hammamat to Koptos.

It is remarked that the amount of dynastic immigration was not large, and that "civilised people do not migrate in a body, nor do they risk all their mental and material possessions by setting out for the unknown." This smacks too much of the assertionist school. We know that by repeated attacks, from s.d. 60 onward, the dynastic race knew Egypt fairly well already, before they tried a conquering movement, much as English people knew Australia or America before they went over by the myriad, without risking the loss of any kind of possessions. Views should always be tested on known historic cases. We do know, however, that where they were strongest the dynastic people were only a tenth of the male population, and brought no women, by the evidence of the cemetery of their temporary capital at Tarkhan.

Misprints should be corrected on p. 101, note 3, pl. xv; p. 120, read Cusae, and note 1, pl. xiii; p. 134, note 3, read xiii E; p. 141, 4 lines up, read pl. xii; p. 142, read Hatshepsut and Akaba. We may cordially hope that Mr. Frankfort's continuation of these studies will be marked by the care, insight and discretion which make the present work a landmark in stabilising our knowledge.

NOTES AND LETTER.

A LONG illustrated account of pre-Aryan Indian remains, by Sir John Marshall, appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, 20 September, followed by a letter from Prof. Sayce, 27 September, and an article by Mr. Gadd and Mr. Sidney Smith on 4 October. The remains have been found in the northernmost part of India, the Punjab and Sind, beneath a Buddhist *stupa* at Mohenjo-Daro, and at Harappa, where are seven or eight successive levels of building. These buildings are massive brick structures, including an altar of glazed bricks, and also marble slabs. The surprise is not only in reaching to pre-Buddhist times, but finding square stone seals with the figure of a bull and diverse inscriptions in characters entirely unknown so far in India. Such are like early Sumerian seals, and many of the characters are so closely like the Sumerian that there can be little doubt of their both coming from one original source. Such seals are dated (even on short chronology) to 3500-2500 B.C. Further, there were many mace heads like the Babylonian, a haematite barrel weight exactly of Syro-Babylonian style, and most extraordinary spiked bangles of blue glass paste. These discoveries open a new world to us, the pre-Aryan civilisation which was shared by the Tigris and the Indus. The original centre may well have been in southern Persia, from whence the culture spread on either hand. At both of the sites of these remains there is "a vast expanse of artificial mounds evidently covering the remains of once-flourishing cities." We are in presence of a great civilisation to be worked out, in India, as also in Mesopotamia. Could we multiply our skilled excavators and our funds by a hundred-fold we should hardly be able to cope with the treasure of history awaiting us.

THE EDITOR, ANCIENT EGYPT.

SIR,

In the "Notes and News" of the issue of ANCIENT EGYPT for September it is stated that "The surfaces of the early tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty and of temple sculptures of the XIIth dynasty will bear flooding and scrubbing without any loss of ochres and haematite which were rubbed in and polished," and from this is deduced that white of egg was used to fix the colours. May I venture to point out that Mackay states (ANCIENT EGYPT, 1920, Part II.) that beeswax was employed on the mural paintings in some of the Theban tombs ranging from the time of Amenophis I to that of Amenophis II, that is to say "early tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty," and that as beeswax would not be affected by water it is not necessary to postulate the use of white of egg.

Yours faithfully,

A. LUCAS.

Cairo, November, 1924.